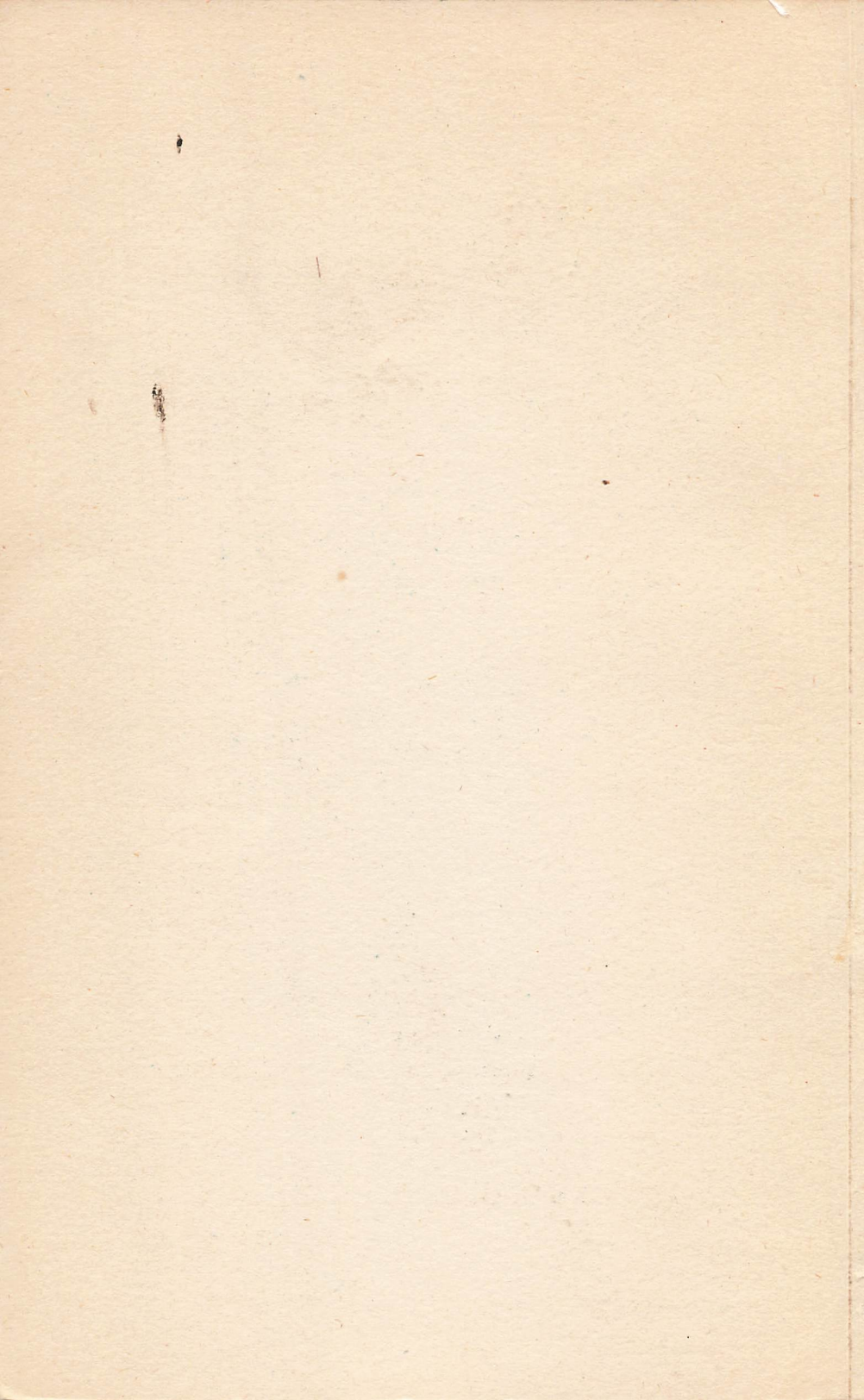


IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

A Report on
MORAL RE-ARMAMENT
AND THE ARMED FORCES

By

MAJOR GENERAL G. O. DE R. CHANNER, CBE, MC



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MAJOR GENERAL G. O. DE R. CHANNER,
C.B.E., M.C.

PROLOGIC

OFFENSIVE

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FOREWORD

THE HISTORY of these last years shows that ideological warfare has become an extremely successful means to conquest. Up to now the democratic nations have lagged far behind the totalitarian powers in their study and application of it.

Yet this type of conquest can only be avoided ultimately by a similar counter-offensive. An ideology can only be defeated by a better ideology. If democracy is to survive, it must immediately develop and use its ideology. The materialist ideologies which lead to totalitarianism must be met by the superior ideology on which our free countries were founded.

We believe that this is Moral Re-Armament—the new conception, for this age, of old truths too long forgotten and too little practised. We have investigated it at first hand and are convinced that it is the answer for which everyone of good will is looking.

At this critical hour it offers the fruits of many years' experience of this type of warfare—a tried and tested philosophy and way of life—a trained and mobilised world force available for action now.

We urge everyone to study the evidence presented in this report and other literature, and to make themselves fully acquainted with the facts and principles of this moral ideology, through which, we believe, the new world of tomorrow can be constructed.

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Wartime Convoy Commodore.

Commanding Baltic Coast, Sweden.

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*Commander 8th Belgian Infantry
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*Wartime Commander, Polish Air
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*Formerly Fleet Engineer Officer,
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*Wartime Commander, 1st French
Armoured Division.*

PART I

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT AND THE ARMED FORCES

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The technique of creating and mobilising allies within enemy populations as a preparation or even substitute for military action was first used on a large scale by Nazi Germany in World War II.

2. Today, the ideology of Marxism has 100 years of indoctrination of both intellectuals and workers behind it. Its magnetic appeal to the economically depressed and morally confused provides every country which adopts it with a formidable offensive weapon.

3. This weapon has been used with deadly effect since the close of World War II in 1945. Six countries (Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia) have been taken over, against the will of their peoples as a whole, largely by ideological means. Neither armies nor atom bombs played the decisive part in these campaigns.

4. In China, as the Red Army moved southwards, the ideological undermining of the population, together with the inferior morale of the Nationalist Army, led to a virtually bloodless conquest of the country. When the Red Army arrived in a town it was observed that its daily routine included ideological training. As the Red troops neared Hankow, thousands of children went out to meet them, singing Communist songs taught to them in their schools. Similarly in Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and Indonesia, the power of this new ideological factor is common knowledge to the authorities concerned.

5. If successive defeats at the hands of a power equipped with the weapon of an ideology are to be averted, this weapon must be confronted with the answering weapon of a superior ideology. It is suggested that Moral Re-Armament offers the democracies and the whole world today the weapon of a superior ideology without which, in this ideological age, armies are out-fought and statesmen out-thought.

6. The paper which follows is designed to give a brief outline of the results gained in the military field, in various countries, with Moral Re-Armament. It should be read in conjunction with similar material about the results in the industrial and other fields.¹ It is intended to throw light on the ideological aspects of national and international defence and to make appropriate recommendations.

II. WHAT IS MORAL RE-ARMAMENT ?

7. Before passing to a more detailed account of the work of Moral Re-Armament in the Armed Forces, many may ask "What is Moral Re-Armament?" The following brief summary attempts to answer that question, but it should be emphasised that it is only a summary. Those who wish to study the question seriously are referred to the Bibliography at the end of this report.

8. Moral Re-Armament is a moral ideology. Launched in 1938 in East London, it has been gaining ground rapidly across the world. Mr. Robert Schuman, Foreign Minister of France, in a foreword to the French edition of its chief book of reference *Remaking the World*, describes it as "a philosophy of life put into action." At its World Assemblies at Caux, Switzerland, 30,000 people from 103 countries have attended since the war, including Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers and Trade Union leaders from thirty-five countries representing forty million workers. Many thousands more take part in its work in most of the free countries.

History

9. Moral Re-Armament has been built upon the work of Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, its founder, a distinguished American of Swiss ancestry who has spent most of his life travelling both in Europe and in Asia to create it. After the first World War he saw clearly the need to develop an effective answer to

¹ See Bibliography.

the militant materialist ideologies of both Left and Right if the world was not to be increasingly divided and destroyed.

10. Realising that the old Christian truths on which democracy was founded were widely forgotten or ignored, he set out to restate them in language and by means which everyone in every country could understand. Not content with stating these truths, he trained groups of people of all races, classes and creeds actually to live them out. These groups became known as the Oxford Group Movement since much of Dr. Buchman's early work had centred at Oxford University.

11. The number and influence of these groups spread rapidly from country to country. In South Africa the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr and other prominent South Africans described the visit of a Group from Oxford in 1928 as "of national significance." In Canada in 1932 the Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, said of their work there that "it made the task of government easier." In a foreword to *Remaking the World*, the Hon. C. J. Hambro, formerly President of the Norwegian Parliament, said that this work "made possible the united church front in Norway" during the last war. In Britain in 1938 the Archbishop of Canterbury said, "I would like to congratulate Dr. Buchman on the great work which he has been able to achieve." Two years earlier the Marquess of Salisbury, speaking in the House of Lords, referred to it as "a great movement which is taking place at this moment in this country and elsewhere."

12. In 1938 the work had spread to fifty countries and thousands of people were active for it across the world. It was at this time that Dr. Buchman launched the campaign for the Moral Re-Armament of the nations. During the war it served to strengthen national unity and morale and increased production in vital industries in both Britain and America, as outlined in a report published in 1943 entitled *The Fight to Serve*. Thousands of men trained in Moral Re-Armament served in the armed forces of the Allies and in the resistance movements in occupied countries. They served in all ranks and posts, and many were decorated for gallantry and distinguished service. The report below gives further details about the Armed Forces.

13. Since the war Moral Re-Armament has grown rapidly in size and influence. As it has never been an organisation with listed members, it is not easy to assess numbers. It is best judged by its results. Its chief activities have centred in answering the materialist strategy at key points of ideological conflict on a world front. These include the docks, mines and factories of Britain, the Ruhr and Western Germany, the industrial North of France, the heavy industries of North Italy, and in the Far East, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Statesmen and leaders of all sections have been among those who have supported its programme in each country.

Objectives

14. The aim of Moral Re-Armament is to remake the world. It believes in what Mr. Schuman describes as "a vast transformation of society in which, during fifteen war-ravaged years, the first steps have already been made." In a message to the 1950 Assembly, Mr. G. Nanda, Deputy Chairman of the Government of India Planning Commission, said: "Moral Re-Armament will not have done its job till the ideology it represents becomes the most significant and the most powerful factor in political, economic and social thought and action in every part of the world." The United States Department of Justice, in a bulletin issued in 1949, states: "Moral Re-Armament is a world force having as its principal objective the adequate ideological preparedness of the free nations for the ideological conflict in which the world is now engaged."

Principles

15. At a time when millions in both East and West are pinning their hopes on far-reaching changes in world economic and social conditions, Moral Re-Armament emphasises that, however desirable these changes are, an even more basic change is both necessary and possible. Poverty and injustice cannot be cured by a change of system alone. Human nature must also be changed. "When everyone cares enough and everyone shares enough, then everyone will have enough. There is enough in the world for everyone's need but not for everyone's greed." Moral Re-Armament produces a way of life in which "the

wealth and work of the world are available for all and for the exploitation of none.”¹

16. In a world where everyone points the finger at the other person and the other nation, Moral Re-Armament says, “If you want the world to be different, start with yourself and your own nation.”¹ It challenges every man to compare his daily living with the moral standards of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love, which are the distilled essence of the Sermon on the Mount, and to change where change is due. It has demonstrated in every class and nation that such change of human nature is possible. Dr. Buchman says, “A mighty change begins with a change in human nature through Jesus Christ. . . . Upon a foundation of changed lives permanent reconstruction is assured. Apart from changed lives no civilisation can endure.”¹

17. Moral Re-Armament believes that just as God spoke to men in the Bible, so He has spoken to men in history and to men today. “The secret lies in that great forgotten truth that when man listens, God speaks; when man obeys, God acts; when men change, nations change.”¹ As the late Lord Salisbury said in the House of Lords of Moral Re-Armament, “What is needed is God-guided personalities to make God-guided nationalities to make a new world.”¹ The re-application of absolute moral standards, change—personal, economic, social—the direction of God for the ordinary man and for the statesman, these in brief are the principles of Moral Re-Armament.

Methods

18. Every modern method—films, radio, Press and stage—is used to carry this ideology to the masses. *The Forgotten Factor*, an industrial drama described by President Truman as “the finest play produced by the war,” has been played in seven languages to over a million people in fifteen countries. There are several such plays. When one of them is given in an area it is accompanied by a force of 50-100 or more men and women trained to develop the ideology through personal contacts. In

¹ See *Remaking the World*.

the Ruhr alone 200 Trade Union meetings were addressed by such a force in a period of three months.

19. In addition, Moral Re-Armament training centres are set up in different countries. The largest is at Caux in Switzerland, but others have been operated in the North of France, in Germany, Britain and the United States since the war. At these training centres people interested in the ideology are given further training in it.

Finance

20. Moral Re-Armament is financed by voluntary contributions, often at great sacrifice, by people in all walks of life who are convinced that it offers an answer to current problems. In some cases business firms and labour unions have contributed. Moral Re-Armament workers are paid no salaries but receive some expenses. They believe in the principle that if their work is worth doing, people will contribute what is needed for it. The Oxford Group—Moral Re-Armament—was incorporated in 1939 as an association not for profit by permission of the Board of Trade in Britain. It has since been accorded official charitable status with effect from April, 1950, so that gifts made to it can be exempted from tax.¹ Similar foundations exist in other countries.

Opposition

21. All through history men who have fought for moral and material progress have been opposed. The greater the challenge to change, the greater the opposition. It is not surprising, therefore, that Moral Re-Armament has been bitterly opposed. It is engaged in front-line ideological conflict, and it would be surprising if no one shot at it. As it is a moral ideology it has been opposed both on moral and on ideological grounds. Smear campaigns have been organised against it both by individuals reacting to the idea of moral change and by the materialist ideologies who see in its programme a deadly threat to their own existence. As with all such campaigns, stories initiated by misrepresentation are passed on by the misinformed.

¹ In Britain the accounts are audited annually by Price, Waterhouse & Co.

22. One such story was that Moral Re-Armament was pacifist. This has been widely circulated and believed. Moral Re-Armament is not and never has been pacifist. As Dr. Buchman has said, "Moral Re-Armament is the answer to every 'ism' including pacifism." Much of this misrepresentation was linked with the name of the famous tennis player, H. W. (Bunny) Austin. The actual facts about his war service are given in an article published in *Everybody's Weekly* by Rear Admiral Sir Edward Cochrane under the title "A Man is Judged" (see Bibliography). Moral Re-Armament has always stressed that everyone has a part all the time in total war.

23. Another story has been that Moral Re-Armament was pro-Nazi and Fascist. Nothing could be further from the truth. In a letter published in the London *Times* (December 29th, 1945) by a distinguished group of Parliamentary, Trade Union, educational and Church leaders in Britain, the official Nazi attitude to Moral Re-Armament was revealed. A secret Gestapo document of 126 pages was discovered at the end of the war which denounced Moral Re-Armament for "uncompromisingly taking up a frontal position against National Socialism." The document went on: "It supplies the Christian garment for world democratic aims" (see Appendix C).

24. In an effort to discredit Moral Re-Armament, stories of "public confession" have also been circulated. Moral Re-Armament does not believe in nor does it encourage "public confession." Again, some people say, "Where does the money come from?" as if there were something disreputable involved, or that Moral Re-Armament is a Communist front or a Fascist front. The fact that none of these stories are true is easily proved by first-hand investigation. People associated with Moral Re-Armament certainly do not claim to be faultless or not to have made any mistakes. But a movement of such worldwide significance supported by leading statesmen in many countries cannot be judged by a few individuals who may sometimes associate themselves with it but not fully understand it or live it.

Results

25. The best way to judge Moral Re-Armament is to look at the results it produces. At the World Assemblies at Caux it is

possible to examine a mass of evidence from factories, coalfields and docks, from homes and industries, in many countries. Such evidence can be studied in the Reports on Caux and similar literature. This report concerns itself chiefly with the relatively narrow field of the Armed Forces. The results as a whole, however, may be summarised as follows:

(a) Moral Re-Armament has proved itself, in the Ruhr, in Italy, in France, in the British docks and mines and in Asia as an ideology strong enough to change many Communists and make them fight with equal vigour for a democratic way of life.

(b) It is creating a new labour and industrial leadership which is providing the average worker with an alternative to Marxism and is outmoding the class struggle.

(c) It has a world network of convinced and trained people in every walk of life, including some of the most influential leaders from many countries in Asia as well as Europe.

(d) It is an ideology which is actually succeeding in uniting men of goodwill from both East and West, men of all faiths and men of no faith, to answer the world challenge of militant materialism.

III. MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IN THE ARMED FORCES

26. Moral Re-Armament has been proved effective within the Armed Forces in the following fields:

- (a) *Morale*. It gives the soldier something positive to fight for and not only something to fight against.
- (b) *Discipline*. It adds to normal military discipline an inner moral discipline and an enhanced sense of responsibility in the individual.
- (c) *Teamwork*. It helps to create teamwork and *esprit de corps* within and between units through enhanced loyalty and a new incentive to serve.

- (d) *Ideological security within the Army.* It confers the clear thinking on moral issues which is necessary to alert and arm people against the insidious approaches of subversive elements.
- (e) *Relations with civilian populations.* It gives the soldier the incentive and the ability to win the confidence and support of civil populations. This assumes particular importance when armies have to operate in territories at least partially won over by the enemy's ideology, as in Korea, Malaya and Indo-China.
- (f) *Peacetime objective.* It gives officers and men in peacetime service a new conception of the role of the Armed Forces as a training ground for sound citizenship and as the moral backbone of the nation.

27. These points are based upon extensive practical experience. The sections which follow contain some typical examples selected from a mass of evidence available. They cover experience obtained with Moral Re-Armament in the Armed Forces of America, Britain, France and the Scandinavian countries both during and since the war.

IV. MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IN THE AMERICAN ARMED FORCES

28. Hundreds of men trained in Moral Re-Armament served in the American Armed Forces during the war. They served in many ranks and in many posts in all the services and in all theatres of war. Their training inspired high morale, good discipline and close teamwork in and between units. Many of them were decorated for gallantry and outstanding service.

29. Nine months before America's entry into the war, General John J. Pershing broke a lifetime rule to write a foreword to the national defence handbook produced by Moral Re-Armament, *You Can Defend America*. Its national distribution of over a million copies was sponsored by leaders of industry, labour and government. The War Department Bureau

of Public Relations termed this handbook, "Probably the most challenging statement of this nation's philosophy of national defence that has yet been written."

30. Several Army, Air Force and Naval training centres invited the Moral Re-Armament revue, *You Can Defend America*, to be presented to their troops as a morale-building force. On one such occasion at Morrison Field, Florida, Colonel Frank A. McKenry, Executive Officer, introducing the revue, said, "I have seldom seen any individual and never a group, in uniform or out of it, that is doing so much for the Armed Forces."

31. Men in uniform who had been trained in Moral Re-Armament were in demand to articulate the philosophy of patriotism and national unity. Sergeant Duncan Corcoran, a shipyard worker with some years of experience in fighting the battle for industrial teamwork, was flown by the Air Force to many parts of the continent to address special meetings for this purpose. On one occasion he spoke at the Washington premiere of the Moral Re-Armament play, *The Forgotten Factor*, which was sponsored by Senator Harry S. Truman, then Chairman of the Special Senate Committee Investigating the War Programme; Congressman James W. Wadsworth, co-author of the National Selective Service Act; Admiral William H. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief; and leaders of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Congress of Industrial Organisations and the American Federation of Labour. Many leaders of the Armed Forces were present that night, including Field Marshal Sir John Dill, Chief of the British delegation to the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Mr. Truman called this play "the greatest play produced by the war."

32. The Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, expressed himself in favour of assigning the Moral Re-Armament men in the army to the national service where their training could be best used. Immediately following the cessation of hostilities with Japan, the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, initiated the release from the Army of all men fully trained in Moral Re-Armament "in the national interest" so that they could carry on ideological warfare on other fronts.

33. In the space available it is not possible to describe individual cases. Two examples follow to illustrate the kind of action produced by Moral Re-Armament.

34. At the Headquarters of the U.S. Eighth Air Force officers, who had been trained in Moral Re-Armament, were assigned to conduct the orientation programme. This programme, initiated by the Commanding General and executed at all levels of the 250,000 man command, produced results in: heightened morale; increased knowledge of the cause for which the war was being fought and the part of the Eighth Air Force; enhanced teamwork between flying and ground echelons and all branches of the service; countering subversive propaganda; fostering teamwork with the Royal Air Force; training leadership and preparing men for the tasks of Occupation duty and for return to civil life.

35. By V-E Day some sixty full-scale schools were operating at airbases of the Command for this last purpose. So successful was the programme that several of the officers responsible were decorated for "meritorious achievement."

36. When the orientation staff was formed for the U.S. Air Forces in Europe (the Occupation Air Force), the Colonel in charge appointed officers trained in Moral Re-Armament. Their role was to interpret the task of Occupation to all ranks of the Command. When Communist-inspired disturbances broke out late in 1945, known as the "Go home" or "G.I. strikes," the U.S. Air Force in Germany was free from this trouble. The General, Chief of Administration, gave it as his opinion that this was in large measure due to the work of the orientation programme.

37. The Commanding General requested showings of the play *The Forgotten Factor* for officer students of his command and all personnel at the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. All officer students from the rank of General to Captain attended with their wives, as well as personnel of the base. The showings were introduced by the Commanding General, Lieutenant General Gerow, in person.

V. MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IN THE BRITISH ARMED FORCES

38. Men trained in Moral Re-Armament served in the Navy, Army and Air Force during the war. Many were decorated for gallantry and for distinguished service; 3,000 servicemen in all theatres of war kept in regular touch with the London headquarters of Moral Re-Armament. Four individual cases are given below as examples.

39. Many men trained in Moral Re-Armament were present at Dunkirk. Lieutenant Geoffrey Appleyard, a B.E.F. transport officer, saved the lives of 150 men by a daring decision which he attributed to Moral Re-Armament training. Subsequently he transferred to the Commandos, was promoted to the rank of Major, awarded the D.S.O. and M.C. and Bar. Finally he was killed in action. The story of his exploits is told in *Geoffrey* by J. E. A.¹

40. Lieutenant Commander Lord Hugh Beresford lost his life in action when his destroyer was sunk off the island of Crete. Lord Louis Mountbatten, his flotilla commander and later Allied Supreme Commander in South-East Asia, wrote: "It might interest your friends in the Oxford Group to know that Hugh Beresford was one of the few picked up by the *Kipling* and that he gave his life trying to save others when one of the *Kipling's* boats was smashed while rescuing survivors. A worthy end for an officer who had such high principles." Beresford's ship was H.M.S. *Kelly*, upon whose story the film *In Which We Serve* was based. His story is told in *Went The Day Well*, collected stories of the war published in Britain in 1942.

41. One of the tank commanders who led the Eighth Army's armoured columns through the minefields at El Alamein and on to Derna, sent the following message, "Tell Frank Buchman my tank was one of the first two or three all the way. *Remaking the World* was with me—the first book with the Eighth Army van! Is this prophetic?"

¹ See Bibliography.

42. A certain Cambridge undergraduate who was also an ordinand for the Church of England volunteered for military service. He applied several times for a commission but was rejected on each occasion as being unsuitable for various reasons. His regiment went to the Middle East. He applied for, and obtained, a job as a clerk at Headquarters in Cairo, in view of his educational qualifications. In this job he announced to friends his intention of "becoming as much of a civilian as possible," as he was very upset at the treatment he had received. Then he met a soldier who had been trained in Moral Re-Armament, and found a complete change of heart. He applied to return to his regiment and was sent on an infantry refresher course. His Commanding Officer was so impressed with him that he selected him for an Officers' Training Unit. He was commissioned in the Queen's Regiment. Within a few months, he had been wounded and had won the Military Cross as a 2nd Lieutenant. In March, 1944, he was killed leading his platoon at Anzio in action against great odds.

43. In 1946 the Westminster Theatre in London was purchased by funds donated by servicemen and their families and friends, and was dedicated as a memorial to those men in Moral Re-Armament who had lost their lives in the war.

44. The Armed Forces are vulnerable to ideological penetration, particularly in countries where conscription comes into force. Field Security Units have their own essential role, but clearly their functions are limited.

45. Similarly, information and education services cannot be relied upon alone to mould the thinking of the soldier. Such services can readily become vehicles for the propagation of Marxism, as experience in the Allied forces at the end of the last war was already showing.

46. At one School of Army Education during the war, men trained in Moral Re-Armament consistently exposed the class-war philosophy which was being deliberately and subtly propagated there. This was typical of action taken at all levels by such officers and men wherever they were stationed.

VI. MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IN THE FRENCH ARMED FORCES

47. Men trained in Moral Re-Armament served with distinction during the war. Prominent amongst them was Captain Nosley, Croix de Guerre, who directed an Allied Intelligence network. Some were killed or imprisoned. Others fought with the French forces overseas and with the Resistance.

48. In September 1947 there was an ideological training course for the Armed Forces at the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, Switzerland. To this course came representatives from the Armed Forces of eleven countries. France was represented officially by a delegation headed by Vice Admiral P. Ortoli, then Director of Naval Schools and now commanding the French Navy in the Far East. Lieutenant Colonel R. Coche and Lieutenant Colonel J. Bezy represented the Army and Air Force with five other officers.

49. Following this, they arranged meetings in Paris to study the application of Moral Re-Armament to the French Armed Forces. As a result, Major General Molle, Commandant of the French Military Academy at Coëtquidan (formerly St. Cyr), invited an international group of sixty trained Moral Re-Armament workers to accompany the ideological play, *The Forgotten Factor*, played by a French cast, to Coëtquidan. The play was given there in April, 1948, and the whole group stayed for two days for further discussions. During the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux in the summer of 1948, a number of cadets from Coëtquidan came for training. Another group of cadets attended the Assembly of 1949 together with other officers from the French forces.

50. Among the senior officers who attended the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament during 1949 were Major General M. Descour, Commanding the French Occupation Troops in Austria; Major General H. de Vernejoul, wartime commander of the 5th Armoured Division; and Lieutenant General Touzet du Vigier, former Chief of Staff to General de Lattre de Tassigny and wartime Commander of the 1st Armoured Division.

51. The French representatives at the World Assembly at Caux, 1950, included Lieutenant General L. M. Chassin, Commanding the Air Region, Bordeaux, Major General M. Descour, Generals du Vigier and de Vernejoul, and General de Benouville, a wartime leader of the Resistance. Also M. Laborde, director of the Institute for the Higher Study of National Defence, with a senior member of the directing staff, Capitaine de Vaisseau A. Lepotier. The Military Attaché at Berne, Colonel J. de Guillebon, who was wartime Chief of Staff to General Leclerc, also attended, together with representatives of the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Overseas Territories and the Minister for Air. A number of young officers were also present.

VII. MORAL RE-ARMAMENT IN THE SCANDINAVIAN ARMED FORCES

52. Among the many whom Frank Buchman inspired to ideological action during his visit to Scandinavia in 1934 was Lieutenant Colonel H. A. V. Hansen. When the German forces overran Denmark, Colonel Hansen was commanding a battalion. From then on he determined to strengthen the Danish nation by bringing unity between the three main forces in the country: the politicians, the Armed Forces, and the resistance movement. When Colonel Hansen died in 1948, the Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant General Ebbe Gørtz, declared, "He taught me how to fight *for* something, not just against something. . . . What he has done for the Danish people will never be forgotten."

53. After the war the Danish Armed Forces were faced with many tasks: the entire reorganisation and re-equipment of the Navy, Army and Air Force, and the provision of officers and trained men. But first of all, they had to recapture within the Armed Forces the spirit which had animated the Resistance.

54. Some of the Danish military leaders, knowing that it was Moral Re-Armament which had enabled Colonel Hansen to establish unity during the war, realised that their post-war

problems could be solved on the same basis. Colonel Hansen and other senior officers visited the Moral Re-Armament headquarters in England in 1945. Another delegation headed by Major General E. C. V. Møller, Chief of Staff of the Danish Army, and Colonel Thygesen, the Director of the War Department, visited the Moral Re-Armament Assembly in Caux, Switzerland, in 1946. Following this visit, General Møller said, "Through Moral Re-Armament I saw new possibilities for the Army and it became clear to me that with this ideology the Armed Forces could become an essential factor in giving recruits and the Danish people valuable moral and spiritual inspiration."

55. As a result of General Møller's visit to Caux, General Gørtz went to London to study the work of Moral Re-Armament in Britain. On his return to Denmark, he outlined the purpose of the peace-time Danish Army as being "a training ground for democratic citizenship and the moral backbone of the nation." In the spring of 1947 the Danish Army and Navy sent a party of fifteen selected Danish officers to England for a course in Moral Re-Armament.

56. In the early summer of 1947 the Jutland Division arranged a course of ideological training for officers from all its regiments. A number of British Moral Re-Armament workers assisted in the training. Following this course, Major General Wulff-Have, commanding the Division, led a delegation of officers to the Assembly at Caux. There he stated, "Here we have met a world force which has the strength to tackle every situation and challenges us to revise our moral values. The Danish officers accept the absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love as the main foundations of their lives, of the life of the army and their nation."

57. In this way, the foundations of ideological training in the Danish Army were laid. Reporting this, General Møller says, "It is up to us as pioneers for the new age to see that this work will grow and spread so that these ideas can saturate the Danish Army and nation."

58. An interesting feature of the ideological training in the Danish Army was that leadership was not only given from

above. There was a spontaneous movement from the lower ranks. A new sense of responsibility turned into first class soldiers a number of men who earlier had been apathetic and critical, and even pacifist.

59. Disillusioned with developments after the war in Denmark and in the rest of the world, Jørgen Wenzel started to work with Communists. In 1946 when he was called up for military service he was a convinced pacifist and wanted to go into a camp for conscientious objectors instead. But as this would involve one year longer of service he joined the Army. There he caused much trouble to his officers by spreading, in a very intelligent way, an atmosphere of criticism and pacifism around him. Then he met some soldiers trained in Moral Re-Armament. He said, "They gave me a new faith in democracy. With this superior ideology, democracy will be able to create the world I hoped to see fulfilled through Communism." He got a new vision for the Armed Forces. Of his own free will he joined the Cavalry Officers' School in order to work out in practice this vision. He was reported by the Commandant of the school as having given a lead in self-discipline and responsibility which influenced the whole school. As a Lieutenant he changed the attitude of several apathetic and critical soldiers, and when his service time had finished he was described by his commander as "the best young officer I ever had."

60. The Colonel commanding the regiment where this occurred, reported, "During the last three years there have been in the Regiment privates and young officers who have tried to work on the principles of Moral Re-Armament. It is my impression that this work has meant a great deal in improving the day to day life of the Service, in raising the spirit of the regiment, and in increasing confidence between officers and men. I have realised from my own experience that we have something here which we must support as much as possible for the benefit of our country."

61. In 1948 a Danish officer, at the request of the Swedish Navy, was ordered by the Ministry of War to lecture about ideological warfare at a special course in Stockholm for officers.

He also lectured at the Swedish Military Academy and the Naval Officers' School.

62. Later in the same year a delegation of Swedish officers, including Admiral Yngve Ekstrand, Commanding the Eastern Coast, and Colonel Lemmel, Commandant of the Military Academy, went to Caux. From Norway and Denmark delegations also came, including Admiral Landgraf, Commanding the Naval Base of Horten, and Lieutenant Colonel Frisvold, Commandant of the Norwegian Military Academy, and an official delegation from the Infantry Officers' School at Kronborg, Denmark. Admiral Ekstrand said, on behalf of the Scandinavian officers, "With Moral Re-Armament as a basis, it will be possible to unite the Scandinavian peoples, making Scandinavia a united whole capable of fighting for a better world."

63. In 1949 and 1950 a succession of officers delegations from Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway attended the conference in Caux. The wartime Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish Army, Lieutenant General Ivar Holmquist, stressed the importance of this training for national security. He said, "We in the democratic nations must give our soldiers an ideology—the ideology of Moral Re-Armament."

64. Throughout the Scandinavian Armed Forces the training given in Caux has been applied in regiments and staffs. Experiments with units have been initiated in the 1st Company of the Swedish Royal Guards under Captain von Heijne and in a Danish battery under Major Aabech. Captain von Heijne has been asked by Generals and Regimental Commanders to give lectures all over Sweden.

65. Major Aabech attended the conference at Caux in the summer of 1949. He set himself to interpret Moral Re-Armament as commander of a battery in Holbæk. As his second-in-command he had Captain Holgersen, one of the officers who were sent to the special course in London in 1947. A 50-page report written by them on their experiments was circulated by Commanding Generals to regiments and staffs.

66. Major Aabech sums up his convictions on the results of the experiment, "Many sceptics thought 'democratic' methods in army education and training would lead to softness and lack of responsibility. We tried to educate and train our soldiers by 'democratic' methods, but in the true meaning of this word—developing self-discipline and responsibility. It changed scepticism to interest and understanding. An ideology gives us faith in what we are defending and the power to fight for our beliefs. We are convinced that the armed forces must add ideological training to their curriculum."

67. At a gathering of Danish and Swedish officers in Copenhagen, Major General Møller stated, "I believe that here we will find the solution of problems never solved before." General Møller then pointed out as an example the experiment of the regiment referred to above. "The regimental commander and the Inspector-General reported that the work in this regiment had never reached such a standard as when a group of young officers practised the principles of Moral Re-Armament in their daily service."

VIII. RELATIONS WITH CIVILIAN POPULATIONS

68. As pointed out earlier, Moral Re-Armament can play a vital part in determining the relations between the armed forces and the civilian population. It gives the soldier the incentive and the ability to win their confidence and support. This assumes particular importance when armies have to operate in territories at least partially won over by the enemy's ideology, as in Korea, Malaya and Indo-China. There is of course the much larger issue too, that the Armed Forces depend upon the home front as never before, and anything which can unite these two elements in a common aim plays a vital role in defence. This aspect of the work of Moral Re-Armament is covered more fully in other publications. This report confines itself to giving a few typical examples, first from the home front, then from friendly countries and lastly from enemy territories.

Home Front—The British Docks

69. Communist strategy aims to control the docks of the world. The 1949 dock strike in London cost Britain £217,000,000. Moral Re-Armament has been conducting a programme in the docks to answer this threat to national security, and has developed leadership loyal to the highest national interests.

70. Mr. Jack Manning, who took an active part in the strike as a member of the Port Workers' Committee, claims that two stoppages have since been averted as a result of winning dockers and unofficial strike leaders to the ideas of Moral Re-Armament. Similar work is going on in the docks in Glasgow, Bristol and Liverpool. The threat of Communism, established for twenty years in the docks, may not have been eliminated, but a daily battle is being fought with increasing success to answer it, and thirty-four dockers' leaders attended Caux in 1950.

Home Front—The British Coalfields

71. National security depends on coal. Since the war, Moral Re-Armament has made a profound impact in the British coalfields, and 100,000 people attended the showings of the play *The Forgotten Factor* there. Mr. Harry Pollitt, Secretary of the British Communist Party, is reported to have said, "The Rhondda Valley has been swept off its feet by Moral Re-Armament." Mr. Harold Lockett, President of the North Staffordshire miners, stated, "When Moral Re-Armament comes in, Communism goes out. Absenteeism goes down and production goes up."

72. The Coal Board Production Officer for the Rhondda, Mr. Tom Beecham, says that the effects of Moral Re-Armament are shown in production figures. His charts show a definite rise from the time *The Forgotten Factor* play and task force went to the Valleys. Mr. Spencer Hughes, Manager of the Yorkshire Main Colliery, states that production in his pit has risen from 13,000 tons to 22,000 tons per week since the same force came to his district. Many other examples could be quoted.¹

¹ See Bibliography.

America

73. Throughout the war Moral Re-Armament fought a continuous battle for sound homes, teamwork in industry and a united nation to support national defence. A report on this was published first in America and later in Britain entitled *The Fight to Serve*.¹ It was introduced to the American Press in 1943 by Senator Harry S. Truman, at that time Chairman of the Senate Committee Investigating War Contracts.

74. In his introduction Mr. Truman said, "*The Fight to Serve* records the achievements on the home front of a courageous group of intelligent men who have rendered great assistance to the all-out war programme by creating a spirit of co-operation between management and labour, reducing absenteeism, heightening all-round efficiency and increasing production. Where others have stood back and criticised, they have rolled up their sleeves and gone to work. They have already achieved remarkable results in bringing teamwork into industry, and I believe they should have every encouragement to continue their vital national service."

Holland

75. Craftsman Williams, of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, who had been trained in Moral Re-Armament, was stationed for several weeks in Eindhoven at the time of the liberation. While his comrades were looking around for something to fill in the time, he went straight to the Resistance Committee, of which the President was the new Mayor. He took with him a copy of a national defence handbook which had circulated widely (2,000,000 copies) in Britain, Canada, and the U.S.A. It outlined a programme of sound homes and teamwork in industry as a basis for national unity and moral strength. He spoke of it to the committee and told them something about the effects of Moral Re-Armament—personally, and in a community or industry. The Mayor and his committee were immediately interested. Within ten days they had redrafted the handbook for use in Holland and printed 10,000 copies for immediate distribution. Later when Dutch

¹ See Bibliography.

prisoners of war began to return from Germany and the Far East, the Government ordered each to be given a copy of this ideological handbook as part of their reorientation programme.

Malaya

76. Three British officers trained in Moral Re-Armament went into Malaya with the Liberation Forces in November, 1945. Through their efforts a Chinese educationalist in Singapore, Mr. Thio Chan Bee, attended the MRA World Assembly at Caux in 1946. On his return he began, with their assistance, to apply MRA to healing the deepening breach between the Malay and Chinese communities which threatened the whole future of the country. He contacted Dato Onn, leader of the Malays, and Mr. (now Dato) Tan Cheng Lock, leader of the Chinese, whose views seemed to be at that time quite irreconcilable. Thio Chan Bee became recognised as a force for unity and was appointed a member of the Governor's Advisory Council of Singapore.

77. *The Times* reported on September 8th, 1948, that at the inauguration ceremony of the new constitution for the Federation of Malaya in February, Mr. Thio Chan Bee "conveyed the cordial good wishes of the Singapore Council. He stated 'The Singapore Advisory Council realises that geographically and historically the two territories (Malaya and Singapore) are one, and it looks forward to the day when one Council representative of all the peoples will be responsible to those peoples for the good government of the whole of Malaya.'" Later the two leaders took the initiative in forming a Communities Liaison Committee, on whose work the London *Sunday Times* of September 18th, 1949, made the following comment: "An open breach . . . was averted by the courageous action of the outstanding leaders of the two communities, Dato Onn and Dato Tan Cheng Lock, in joining together publicly in the creation of the Communities Liaison Committee. They succeeded in bringing about a closer understanding between their two races than had ever before been achieved, an understanding that appeared impossible of achievement in the first two years after the liberation of Malaya."

Egypt

78. Sergeant M. Manson of the Royal Armoured Corps, who had been trained in Moral Re-Armament, was entertained in Cairo on the eve of his demobilisation by about 200 Egyptians. At a time when there was much anti-British feeling and the Egyptian Government was pressing for the evacuation of British troops from Egypt, they urged Manson and others working with him to stay on to help train them in Moral Re-Armament.

Germany

79. Before the war there were a number of people interested in and active for Moral Re-Armament in Germany. However, the Nazis were quick to appreciate its significance and took care to suppress it as much as possible both in Germany and, later, in the occupied countries.¹

80. When the Allied armies entered and occupied Western Germany, a number of trained Moral Re-Armament workers were serving in various units. These men interested themselves in how to replace the ideology of Nazism by a democratic ideology and how to make the occupation armies a demonstration of a sound democratic way of life.

81. Later, one of them, Major David Lancashire, returned as a civilian to the occupation headquarters and worked with interested Germans to develop an ideology of inspired democracy. As a result of the work of these men and others, General Clay and other Allied authorities gave special permission for a group of 140 of the new German leaders to come to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux in 1947.

82. The following summer, 1948, a group of 450, representing a cross-section of the life of Western Germany, came to Caux. Among those who came were Minister-Presidents Karl Arnold of North Rhine-Westphalia and Hans Ehard of Bavaria. Dr. Konrad Adenauer, later Chancellor at Bonn, and Dr. Gustav Heinemann, later Minister of the Interior for Western Germany, also came. These men went back to develop the

¹ See also Appendix C—A Nazi Document

ideology in their Lands. Before the end of the Assembly, Minister-Presidents and Land Governments asked that the ideological revue, *The Good Road*, should be brought to Germany and played in some of the principal cities.

83. In October, 1948, a force of 250 people from twenty nations took the revue, *The Good Road*, into Germany. It was played at Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, and Essen. Everywhere it went it received an exceptional response from packed audiences, showing that the German people were looking for a superior ideology to fill the vacuum and to bring new initiative and hope to their country. A British officer on the Control Commission said, "More has been done for the democratisation of the people of this area in the last five days than has been done in the last three years." Minister-President Arnold, now President of the Bundesrat, not only arranged for the programme of the task force with *The Good Road*, but also requested a further group to bring the industrial play, *The Forgotten Factor*, to the Ruhr through the winter months.

84. *The Forgotten Factor* was played by a German cast to audiences up and down the Ruhr totalling 100,000 people. With it was a group of 100 trained Moral Re-Armament workers from fourteen countries who followed up the response to the play in homes and factories. Among these were many men who had been in Germany with the American or British forces. There were also French people who had fought in the Resistance. They had a profound influence in the Ruhr and in Western Germany as a whole, among Marxists and non-Marxists alike. General Clay said of their work, "Much has been accomplished to restore understanding and goodwill."

85. In all, 3,000 representatives of all sections from both East and West Germany have been at Caux for training since the war. Wherever Moral Re-Armament has been applied, sound democratic leadership has been produced and many Communists, including some veteran leaders, have been won for the democratic cause. The Communist Party of West Germany recently had to expel forty of its leaders. The new Communist Chairman was reported by the *Manchester Guardian*

(February 8th, 1950) to have thought "one of the most dangerous symptoms is the growing connection between Party members and the Moral Re-Armament movement." At the recent elections in the Ruhr the Communists lost 40 per cent. of their seats. One of the former Communist leaders, Willi Benedens, said that he had found in Moral Re-Armament "the classless society and an ideology which leads to social justice and satisfies the deep needs of the human heart."

86. At Whitsun, 1950, Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany, and Mr. Arnold, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, invited Dr. Buchman to hold a counter-demonstration in the Ruhr to the Communist-inspired Berlin youth rally. Dr. Adenauer said, "Moral Re-Armament is a household word in post-war Germany." Major General S. W. Kirby, formerly Deputy Chief of Staff to the Control Commission in Germany, wrote in the *Cape Times* (March 24th, 1950) that it "has seized the imagination of many German leaders as the only answer to their problems. Its progress has already been sufficiently rapid to have altered in several respects the relationship between Germany and France on the highest levels. From all reports it would appear that in the spread of this ideology the great hope of the future lies."

Italy

87. As in Germany, men trained in Moral Re-Armament served in Italy towards the end of the war and began to develop the ideology there. As a result, twenty-seven Members of the Italian Parliament came to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux in 1947. They found a unity above party differences which is stated to have played a part in creating a united policy for the critical elections of 1948.

88. 500 Italian workers, of whom many were Communists, attended the World Assembly at Caux, 1950. The President, Dr. Angelo Costa, and thirteen members of the executive of the Confederation of Italian Industry, also came, as did representatives of Parliament, Press and Church. At a factory of the Montecatini Company in Milan the workers voted that the picture of Stalin should be removed from the factory wall and

a Crucifix put in its place. Eighty per cent. of the workers in this factory were said to be Communists. The change in them resulted from the visit of a Management-Labour delegation to Caux a week or two earlier. Many of the Communists who came to Caux were immediately expelled by their local parties.

Japan

89. Captain Bruce Abbott of the American Army, a trained Moral Re-Armament worker, was decorated for his work in giving a positive direction to the newly-formed Trade Unions of Japan, which had been threatened with Communist infiltration.

90. Subsequently, delegations from Japan came to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux in 1949 and 1950, with the approval of General Douglas MacArthur. In 1949, Mr. Tetsu Katayama, who was the first Prime Minister under the new Constitution and Chairman of the Social Democrat Party, led the delegation of thirty-four. In 1950 the delegation numbered seventy-four. After their visit Mr. Kuriyama, representing the Prime Minister, and Mr. Kitamura, representing the Social Democrat Party, issued the following statement to the press: "Russia has advanced in Asia because the Soviet Government understands the art of ideological war. It fights for the minds of men. We appeal to the governments and peoples of the West to do the same—to make themselves expert in the philosophy and practice of Moral Re-Armament, which is the ideology of the future. Then all Asia will listen."¹

¹ See *The Observer*, London, July 23rd, 1950.

PART II

IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF DEFENCE

CAUX, 1950

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IX. INTRODUCTION

91. Lieutenant General du Vigier and Major General de Vernejoul of France, together with a number of other senior officers interested in the ideological aspects of national and international defence, suggested in August, 1950, that representatives of the Armed Forces of the Free Nations should be invited to attend the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, Switzerland, between the 8th and the 18th September.

92. Steps were taken accordingly to invite officers on a private and informal basis. In addition, the Defence Ministers of Belgium, France, Holland and Norway were officially represented, and also the Commander-in-Chief of Finland, the Minister for Overseas Territories of France and the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London; 102 officers from sixteen countries attended, of whom seventy-six were serving and twenty-six retired. They included twenty-one officers of General rank and forty-seven of Field rank or equivalent.

Aim of Sessions

93. The aim of these special sessions on defence was outlined in the invitation. It was to study the ideological aspects of national and international defence. After describing the use of the ideological element in modern war by the Communist countries, the invitation listed the contributions made by Moral Re-Armament to "the urgent need to answer effectively the materialistic ideologies on a world front," and stated that abundant evidence was available to this effect.

94. The invitation continued, "Caux provides an invaluable opportunity to study this evidence at first hand and to meet, on an informal basis, those directly concerned with questions of defence and with leaders in politics, industry and labour from many countries."

The World Assemblies for Moral Re-Armament at Caux

95. World Assemblies for Moral Re-Armament have been held at Caux every year since the war; 30,000 people from 103 countries have attended them, including Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers, and Trade Union leaders representing 40 million workers. More than 1,000 European Marxists and Communists have come to Caux to find a superior ideology. The number of members who have left the Communist parties as a result of the work of Moral Re-Armament has been so great that, in some districts, members are now forbidden even to visit Caux, and many have been expelled from the party for doing so.

96. At the time of the Defence Sessions there were some 1,300 people present from thirty-five countries, representing all sections of the life of their nations. Officers had a unique opportunity, therefore, to study social and industrial questions relating to defence at first hand by meeting industrialists, trade union leaders and workers, including a number of former Communists.

97. Senior officers from different countries presided over the special defence sessions. They included Lieutenant General du Vigier and Major General de Vernejoul of France, Lieutenant General Holmquist of Sweden, Major General Channer and Rear Admiral Phillips from Britain, and the former General Gareis from Germany. Extracts from some of the speeches on the ideological aspects of defence are given below.

X. TAKING THE OFFENSIVE

98. The Assembly also enabled British, French and other senior officers to meet together informally, for the first time since the war, with former German officers. The exchange of views which took place in the unique atmosphere of Caux created mutual confidence where initially there had been natural mistrust and hostility. This led to an agreement of points of view which should bear important fruits in the future development of European unity.

99. Among the ten senior officers from Germany who took part in the Assembly was the former General Friedrich

Hossbach of Göttingen, who commanded the Fourth German Army on the Russian front during the war. "Here at Caux we have all tried in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament and by mutual give and take," he said, "to bridge the differences which have divided us in the past and place in the foreground what shall unite us in the future. No one who believes in a future for himself, for his friends, neighbours and children can escape from his responsibility to give his utmost for the security of every nation."

100. With General Hossbach spoke General Pierre de Benouville, of Paris, one of the leaders of the resistance in France during the war. "National defence," he said, "is above all a question of the spirit and the will to resist.

101. "Victory, too, is an attitude of mind of which we must all the time remain worthy. Moral Re-Armament is obliging people to undertake this daily task of change in the light of the highest ideals which will enable them to enjoy the fruits of victory. The truth represented here can be the salvation of a world being flung to materialism and chaos."

102. Major General S. W. Kirby, formerly Deputy Chief of Staff in the Control Commission in Germany, said that he and his colleagues in the British delegation would take practical steps to see that the Armed Forces developed the ideological offensive demonstrated at Caux. "We have a very good opportunity at this moment," he said, "because almost every nation is increasing its Armed Forces and drafting men into them. It is amongst these men that we soldiers, sailors and airmen who have had the privilege of being at this conference must see that the ideology of Moral Re-Armament is brought." He hoped that representatives of other countries would help them in this task and an exchange of visits to further this end would be arranged.

103. Major T. de la Kethulle of the Belgian General Staff, who is in charge of education in the Belgian Army, said that since his visit to Caux in 1946 the Army had tried to put into practice in its training the principles learned there.

104. "The first thing we teach our men is," he said, "'What is democracy?' 'What are the liberties and duties of a soldier?'

Secondly, we give them a high ideal which will inspire in them the will to fight. Thirdly, we must give them confidence in their leaders. Officers who make the spirit of Caux their ideal will not disappoint their men."

105. Extracts from some of the other speeches made at the Defence Sessions follow.

XI. THE NEED FOR AN IDEOLOGY

Ideological as well as Military Fronts

106. Lieutenant General J. Touzet du Vigier, former Chief of Staff to General de Lattre de Tassigny and wartime Commander of the First French Armoured Division, said, "Powers at war today do not simply join battle on a military front, but on the ideological front as well. Everything that has happened since 1945 confirms that. Nine nations in Eastern Europe and the whole of China have been absorbed without the armies of Russia being involved. The process of demoralisation in the interior of these countries has made one after another become satellites. Korea to-day is a further proof of this truth, and we French in Indo-China in the past four years have experienced exactly the same thing.

107. "The democratic countries must find an ideology with an expansive power greater than the ideology that faces them. This ideology I have found nowhere except at Caux. The key to this revolutionary ideology is change, which applies to people in every class of society instead of members of the proletarian class only. The four absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love are universal in their application and are powerful enough to cross the Iron Curtain."

Moral as well as Military Re-Armament

108. Major General Henri de Vernejoul, wartime Commander of the Fifth French Armoured Division, said, "The moral re-armament of each of our countries is as necessary as military re-armament. The ideological power of a country depends on the force of the ideas which it can put into action

against those of materialism. We must, therefore, in each one of our countries create a current of thought and ideas which can affect the whole nation. The duty of every one of us is to win the working masses of industry and agriculture by an ideology finer than any other which is offered to them. This creates among all peoples a common ideology and unity of thought and of heart.

109. "Moral Re-Armament gives us tremendous hope because it alone provides a philosophy, a passion and a plan adequate to turn back the tides of materialism. It has been at work for twenty-five years in every country and in every part of society. It is a vital arm in the ideological battle of today. It offers an ideology that is greater than the ideologies of materialism, and has the power to win their adherents. It is an ideology for everyone, everywhere, and will win not only in the West but behind the Iron Curtain as well."

Moral as well as Material Aid

110. Admiral Anastase Gonatas, former Naval Chief of Staff, Greece, said, "When I was asked to come here to Caux, I admit I hesitated, because at that time I had no faith in the possibility of changing men and uniting the world. A few days here have been enough to show me that unity is possible. I want now to go back to my country and work with my wife to spread this idea as quickly as possible.

111. "I am firmly convinced that Moral Re-Armament is a necessity for Greece if we are to restore our country. Material aid will not be enough. I have seen in Moral Re-Armament not only an aid for us in our reconstruction but a basis for the full use of our ideological resources—faith in God and in home life, and love for our country. With God's guidance these resources can be used in remaking the world.

112. "I think of Dr. Buchman's message to Greece in 1938, that there are men who believe that the glory of Greece lies not only in the past but in the present and the future. Greece's task in the future was clearly seen by our late Prime Minister, Mr. Sophoulis, in the message he sent to this Assembly last year. He said, 'Greece will fight on until peace with freedom is assured.

Moral Re-Armament is the ideology of freedom that every nation needs to give it unity and strength.' ”

Civil as well as Military Preparedness

113. Lieutenant General Ivar Holmquist, the wartime Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish Forces, said, “Whoever wants to avoid war must prepare for war. That is an old saying, but in our democratic countries the moral preparedness of our people as well as of our soldiers has too often been lacking. The basis of such preparedness must be an ideology. I met that ideology here in Caux. In every country that has compulsory military service it is extremely important that the men who are called to the Forces receive this moral and ideological training. When the servicemen are trained in this ideological function, then the nation will also be trained ideologically. I am convinced that the experience we have here at Caux and the things we learn here will be of the utmost significance to the future.”

XII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN IDEOLOGY

The Soldier and Total War

114. Mr. R. M. S. Barrett, formerly a captain in the U.S. 8th Air Force Orientation Section, said, “All of us have been doing a great deal of thinking about this problem of security. All of us in our own countries have been doing a great deal of paying for this security. If morale is worth three of material, and we are putting hundreds of millions into material defence, how much are we prepared to devote in our thought and effort and money to Moral Re-Armament, and where is that being done? What plans are we making to provide for the moral re-armament of our nations?

115. “Being so concerned with security, we have to realise that we are living in an era of total war, and total war means that every aspect of national life has a part in defence. It is no longer a question of arms alone, but of docks, of supplies, of communications, of trade unions, of factories and of homes.

116. “Secondly, in an era of total war it is no longer a question of military zeal or skill alone, but it is a question of the

armament of the whole man—his heart and mind and will and loyalty.

117. "Thirdly, total war means that war is one whole—a series of phases. It has been called the last resort of statesmanship. To plan adequately in an era of total war means planning for every phase—for the phase before war, for the phase during war, and for the phase of reconstruction after war. Any planning that does not take account of all these phases is inadequate.

118. "The last war was the first total war in which ideologies played a great part. This war, the one we are in now, is primarily an ideological war. The country which has the initiative in the ideological offensive can choose when and where the ideological war can become a war of arms. Therefore, every soldier must be practised in the art of ideological war and be able to influence or determine the shape of events before they occur. He must be able to call to his country's aid every resource of mind and heart and spirit. He must be able to create teamwork between men and between services. He must be able to cure the moral weaknesses in men, and he must have his own life rooted in absolute moral standards and the guidance of God. He must be part of a panic-proof and rumour-proof force which will form an invincible corps for victory."

A Military Experiment

119. Major Leif Aabech, commanding a battery of the Danish Artillery, said, "A year ago I came to Caux for the first time with my wife. On going home I took command of a battery with 200 soldiers. As my second-in-command I had Captain-Lieutenant Holgersen, who had also been here at Caux. The question for us was not 'Can we bring this ideology into the Army?' The question for us was 'How can we as officers take our full responsibility in the moral re-armament of Denmark and the whole world?' We also had in our battery one young man who was already trained in the ideology of Moral Re-Armament, so the three of us made up a team.

120. "We had got no blue-print from Caux which we could put into paragraphs and preach. Every day we gathered all the

officers and N.C.O.s and planned together in the spirit of Caux how we would do our work. That was early in the morning. And every afternoon we met to discuss our experiences and try to penetrate deeper into the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. The private in our team introduced the ideology to many of his friends, and we often gathered these young privates together in our homes or in our quarters. In quite a short time we had two or three soldiers in every group trained in Moral Re-Armament. So we had a network spread throughout our 200 soldiers.

121. "We saw that it was not enough in itself to have an Atlantic Pact, which maybe would give us a certain amount of training and equipment. The important thing was to find one common way of life as the basis of our democracies. Therefore, it has meant a great deal to us this year to have had the privilege of being here for a week and meeting a hundred other officers. Officers from so many nations have found here together the one ideology which can give us a common basis for the democracies today."

An Ideology for the Army

122. Captain Axel von Heijne, commanding the First Company of the Swedish Royal Guards, said, "As a soldier, a militarist and a nationalist, I was shaken to the roots after the last World War when I saw the consequences of nationalism and militarism. It is not easy to give any new idea to an army like the Swedish one, which only exists to maintain neutrality and which has had 140 years at peace. But in Caux I saw the ideological war and realised the Swedish Army must fight in it. There is no such thing as neutrality in the ideological war, not even for Sweden.

123. "The ideology of Moral Re-Armament showed me entirely new ways of handling troops. Instead of just commands, orders and punishment, I saw a new way of inspiring and stimulating them. I saw that my job was to lift up and make great those who were under me and help them to find inner discipline. So I returned to our Royal Military Academy in Stockholm. We succeeded in raising up a team of student officers

who have been round to all our schools and military colleges to pass on the ideology we had found. There has been a constantly increasing interest."

XIII. AN IDEOLOGY ADEQUATE FOR DEFENCE

War or Peace—An Ideology

124. Mr. Bremer Hofmeyr, from a well-known South African family, said, "In these days we see nations, for lack of a guiding star, turning overnight from apathy to panic. If the world situation improves, they are just as likely to turn back again to apathy. But a statesman or a nation armed with an ideology will keep an unswerving course through war or peace alike.

125. "In 1918 Frank Buchman said, 'My message is a programme of life issuing in personal, social, racial, national and supra-national change.' Through war and peace, boom and depression, he has kept this policy unaltered.

126. "After the first World War when business was booming and everyone believed we had won the war to end all war, he kept on saying, 'Life-changing on a colossal scale is the only hope left in the world today. Changed lives are the raw material of a new world order.' And often he reiterated his programme—new men, new nations, a new world.

127. "Then came the rise of the ideologies in Central Europe. The democracies, through lack of an ideology, felt they had to choose between two alternatives—appeasement or war. They chose first one, then the other. Frank Buchman meantime was maintaining the ideological offensive of change in all the countries. In Germany, even under the Nazi power, it had sufficient impact to cause the Gestapo in the early years of the war to issue a 126-page secret report on Moral Re-Armament, urging the extermination of this force as 'lending the Christian garment to world democratic aims.'¹

¹ See also Appendix C—A Nazi Document.

128. "As the situation grew more ominous Frank Buchman drew the alternatives in these words: 'The world is at the cross roads. The choice is guidance or guns.' The world did not listen to guidance, and so it did listen to guns.

129. "As war began, Moral Re-Armament answered certain questions. What is true preparedness? We need the force of arms plus the super-force of an unconquerable spirit. What is total war? Total war is a war of arms plus a war of ideologies. Ideological supremacy is as vital as air supremacy.

130. "The democracies, alas, were fighting only one war. Democratic policy was based on immediate military objectives. But we were dealing with other powers whose policy was based on long-range ideological objectives. And the difference between those two policies is the background of the crisis we face today. For where we won a military victory over an enemy, we suffered an ideological defeat at the hands of an ally.

131. "Today again we face the question of war or peace. But this much must at least be clear to the statesmen. War or peace, we have got to have Moral Re-Armament. Suppose we fight a war. Suppose even we win a war. Just as Communism thrived on the victory of our arms without the victory of our ideology, have we any reason to think that over the destruction of the military forces of Communism some other ideology would not rise to menace the earth, unless we can bring an answering ideology? Without that answer must we not expect ten years from now once more to stand in exactly the same dilemma?

132. "And if there is not war, as everyone hopes and prays there will not be war, what is there to be? Will we remain divided into two armed camps with a constantly increasing burden of military expenditures? Experience has shown that a compromise between East and West is impossible. But Moral Re-Armament has shown that change in both East and West is not impossible. That is the programme of Moral Re-Armament. And that is the hope for the future."

Ideological as well as Air Superiority

133. Colonel Robert L. Snider of the United States Air Force, from the Air War College, said, "All of us in the Services work very hard for adequate defence. We think adequate defence adds up to air superiority, but here I see that ideological superiority is just as important."

Armament for Strength

134. Colonel Sangram Ray, Director of Technical Development, Department of Defence, India, said, "There are many like myself who are going about everywhere trying to find the kind of armament that will equip our country, to make it really strong and secure. India is looking for security and national strength. The strength of India was founded on the moral and spiritual quality of her people. A nation which is divided can never be a really strong nation. As unselfishness and love replace selfishness and moral rot, so the nation grows really strong."

135. "I have experienced the unity which Moral Re-Armament brings, and know that only in this way, through finding unity in our families, in industries, in the government and in the fighting services can India become really strong."

Idealism into Realism

136. Commodore Hajee Choudri, formerly Chief of Staff of the Royal Pakistan Navy, from the Imperial Defence College in London, said, "We have heard about the importance of ideology. It is important in the Armed Services. I think many people realise how important it is to have an ideology, but there are very few who know what is the ideology we should have. I have found that Moral Re-Armament is the answer."

137. "It is important to be trained in the application of this ideology. To make this idealism into realism one requires training. This is what I find you can get at Caux."

The Task of Youth

138. General M. Gareis, formerly the Commander of a German Tank Corps on the Eastern Front, said, "You will understand if I think especially of the youth of my own country."

When I think of them I think of those millions of young people among the 10,000,000 refugees from the East. You will understand that they still long to go back to their own country; yet they live now in Western Germany, exposed to the attacks of materialism and Communism.

139. "I am convinced that the ideology of Caux has the power to fill these young people with a new force and a new faith. Through the development of that, the day may yet come when they may go back to their home country. I appeal to all of you to do all that you can to see that this idea of Moral Re-Armament is effective, so that they may one day return home and rebuild their country.

140. "We have little time. It is five minutes to twelve. Today all soldiers who belong to these nations which are prepared to fight for the ideology of Caux need to understand that boundaries have been widening and have gone out beyond national distinctions. At the same time as recognising that truth, they have also to recognise that they may one day find themselves in the position of having to fight for the things they believe in and give their lives for it. That is above all the task of youth which we see here portrayed in such inspiring form at Caux."

XIV. A WORLD OFFENSIVE

A Revolution to Create a New World Order

141. Mr. R. C. Mowat, Lecturer in History at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, said, "The Armed Forces of all nations are concerned with defence. It is important and necessary for the defence forces of our nations to be strengthened in every possible way, and it is important that Moral Re-Armament should contribute to strengthening these forces.

142. "But Moral Re-Armament is really a revolution which is creating a new world order out of the crumbling order of the present. You have only to listen to these senior officers, to the industrialists, to the workers, to the statesmen and many others who come here, to realise that what they have been already

doing, let alone what they are going to do, is the most revolutionary thing the world has ever seen. It is an entirely new type of world order based on profound change in human nature, based on people facing up to the four absolute moral standards and living under the guidance of God. It is a revolutionary way of life which is destined to become the normal way of life of the future.

143. "Moral Re-Armament strengthens the Armed Forces. It strengthens the existing order, but it is not the role of Moral Re-Armament to save the existing order. Moral Re-Armament strengthens the existing order because it is out of the present order that the new society is going to grow. It is out of the sound principles and all the sound institutions, including the defence forces, of the present order that the new society of Moral Re-Armament is growing."

Mobilisation for Ideological Offensive

144. Captain G. R. Waymouth, R.N., of the Imperial Defence College, London, said, "The threat to the security of free nations today is the combination of material might and ideological power. We in the free nations are confronting this with a hasty material re-armament and very little in the ideological sphere. If we are going to defend our freedom, we have got to meet power with power, and that involves ideological mobilisation.

145. "We ask ourselves the question, 'Is there an ideology which is powerful enough to restore the balance of ideological power?' Moral Re-Armament has got the answer. We have seen here at Caux Communists being changed. We have seen capitalists being changed. We have seen every type of person being changed. That could put us on the ideological offensive.

146. "There are three areas in which we need such an ideology in the Services. In the field of morale it can give us a cause to fight for with honesty, and it will give us security and self-discipline. In the wider field of strategy it gives us a common ideology which is the basis of unity. Finally, it is a superior idea which will give us a chance to go on the offensive."

Reconnaissance to Offensive

147. Colonel W. B. Whishaw, formerly of the British Royal Engineers, said, "Why did you come to Caux? I came because of the very dangerous world situation that we all know about, and because I have a family for whom I feel great responsibility. I felt that as a soldier the least I could do would be to carry out a reconnaissance in the general area—Caux. I soon found striking evidence here. I found an ideology which quite definitely was drawing Communists to it from Communism. In fact, I have found an ideology of leadership definitely replacing one of drive. That is a plain fact that any of us can see.

148. "I also saw an ideology in action, with men of all types working together to demonstrate it here in Caux. I have heard, thanks to the brilliant talks given by the Swedish and Danish officers, how Caux could be transplanted from the top of this mountain into a military unit. It is also clear that the same process can take place in factories and in our other industrial nerve centres. That is a very big fact.

149. "Now can this ideology go on the offensive? It is quite obvious that it is useless if it doesn't. The successes of the Russians with their great ideology of Communism have shown to us clearly how the victory of our arms can be frustrated, even prevented, by an ideology. An ideology is the greatest offensive weapon ever put into the hands of man.

150. "I accept the fact that the ideological battle starts with myself. How does this affect the problems of the world? We are engaged in a war of infiltration, which means a war of thousands of little raids into enemy territory. I must see that I take part in these raids. The enemy territory is in the hearts of men, in the hearts of men who work in the factories, mines and docks all over the world. In hearts that beat in Germany, in Finland, from the North Cape to the Antipodes, in our families, in the Cotswolds where I live, and even in the masses of indifferent people. The world is in balance. Personal change pivoted on action in the hearts of men changes the world. I came on a reconnaissance. I received my marching orders."

Superior Ideology on the Offensive

151. Dr. Morris Martin, of Britain, said, "Democracy today in the West is forced to be on the defensive. The military arm of democracy is forced to be on the defensive because democracy cannot start an aggressive war. But we have forgotten that every nation has two arms: the ideological arm and the military arm. Communism has understood that very clearly. The Communists have been on the offensive for years. They have trained their men, gathered their material and prepared and perfected their weapons.

152. "Moral Re-Armament is also a world ideological offensive. Its basic concern is with the thinking and living of the millions. It is for East and West. The most important thing for us and for our countries today is to know what we are fighting for both in the military war and in the ideological war, and to move out into an ideological offensive.

153. "There is a war on, not only in Korea but in Britain, in America, in France, in Germany; in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, South America, everywhere. There is a war going on which will decide the future of mankind for hundreds of years. In Korea, Malaya and Indo-China it is a shooting war. In the rest of the world it is still a war of ideas. We are slowly waking up to what this means. Now we must wake up quickly and get into action.

154. "An idea set Hitler marching. An idea set Mussolini marching. An idea put a new Russia on the map. An idea built democracy. Hitler and Mussolini are dead, but their ideas go marching on. Russia's idea has reached around the world. It influenced your last elections. It was in your evening paper yesterday. It will affect your job tomorrow. How about democracy's idea?

155. "A hundred years ago wars were fought by the soldiers and endured by the civilians. The First World War was fought by the soldiers, supported by the workers and endured by the women and children. The Second World War was fought by the soldiers, the workers, the women and the children. It was a total war.

156. "One of the lessons we have learned is that to win a total war a nation needs two arms: the military arm and the ideological arm. Now we have to learn another lesson. The ideology that keeps on the offensive wins the war and wins the peace. The nation that neglects its ideological arm loses even the peace it has won with its military arm. Has democracy demobilised its ideology as well as its Armed Forces? We are re-arming for military preparedness. How about ideological preparedness?

157. "What is an ideology? An ideology is a force that changes the way men and nations live. Everybody talks about change in the world today. It is one thing to talk about it; it is another thing to bring it about. Karl Marx saw this when he said, 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.'

158. "This is what makes Communism a force in the world today. It offers a means of changing the world to millions who long for change. It offers them a passion, a philosophy and a plan. You cannot answer a passion with speeches. You cannot answer a philosophy with conferences. You cannot answer a plan with promises. The only answer to an ideology is a superior ideology.

159. "Has democracy a superior ideology? What is democracy's big idea? That is the heart of the themes we have been discussing this week, and in Moral Re-Armament we have seen democracy's big idea—big enough not only for democracy but for the whole world, the inspired democracy that can reach everybody. We have seen it here demonstrated on a supernatural front."

XV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

160. The special sessions of the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, devoted to the ideological aspects of national and international defence, achieved four things:

- (a) New understanding among some of the military leaders of the free countries of the total nature and scope of ideological war.
- (b) New appreciation among them and among leaders of all sections of national life of the urgent need to win the cold war in the docks, factories, mines and other vital points on our home fronts.
- (c) New teamwork between the Armed Forces of many countries through the reconciliation of differences and the creation of strong personal links between senior officers on a new ideological basis.
- (d) New conviction among all concerned that the ideology of Moral Re-Armament offers the one uniting force in action capable of answering militant materialism on a world front.

Recommendations

161. The following recommendations are submitted:

- (a) That, in view of the fact that ideological attack is now an established method of war, ideological preparedness should be given new priority by all those whose concern is national and international defence.
- (b) That, in view of the widespread recognition of Moral Re-Armament by political and industrial leaders, all those concerned with defence should make themselves fully informed at first hand about the work it has done and is doing to provide an adequate ideological force on a world scale to answer the materialist ideologies.
- (c) That full opportunity should be taken of the facilities available at Caux and elsewhere, and of the ideological technique developed successfully through many years'

experience by Moral Re-Armament, to develop and extend this ideology not only within the Armed Forces but also in every section of national life (e.g., docks, mines, factories) as an urgent measure of national defence.

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APPENDIX A

Some Statements on Moral Re-Armament

1. DR. FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN

What is the missing factor in the planning and the statesmanship of the world today? It is our lack of an ideology for democracy. Today Moral Re-Armament offers the democracies and the whole world the superior armament of an ideology without which armies are out-fought and statesmen are out-thought.

(From a world broadcast, 1948)

2. MR. ROBERT SCHUMAN

Foreign Minister of France

In the economic field we have the Marshall Plan. In the field of security we have the Atlantic Pact. Now we need to give ideological content to the lives of the millions of Europe. We must reach the people so that the Pact will be sustained by a deep change in the way of life of the western world through a real spiritual renewal.

(In the invitation to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, 1949)

3. MR. PAUL G. HOFFMAN

Administrator, European Recovery Programme

You are giving to the world the ideological counterpart of the Marshall Plan.

(Message to Tenth Anniversary Assembly for Moral Re-Armament, 1948, at Los Angeles)

4. GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

General of the Armies of the United States

This Moral Re-Armament should enlist the support of all thinking people.

(In a message quoted by the then Senator Harry S. Truman in the U.S. Congressional Record, June 8th, 1939)

5. SENATOR HARRY S. TRUMAN

I have known this group since June 4th, 1939, when I read a message from the President (Roosevelt) to the national mass meeting for Moral Re-Armament in Constitution Hall, Washington. I was struck at that time by the clarity with which they saw the dangers threatening America, and the zeal and intelligence with which they set about rousing the country.

There is not a single industrial bottleneck I can think of which could not be broken in a matter of weeks if this crowd were given the green light to go full steam ahead.

(Speaking at a special presentation of *The Forgotten Factor* in Philadelphia, November, 1943)

I have given much time and thought to this matter and have come to the clear conviction that these problems, to which the Moral Re-Armament programme is finding an effective solution, are the most urgent in our whole production picture.

We need to create a permanent incentive in the heart of every man in office and workshop. This can only come by instilling the personal qualities of patriotism and self-sacrifice based on moral and spiritual principles.

This is where the Moral Re-Armament group comes in. Where others have stood back and criticised, they have rolled up their sleeves and gone to work. They have already achieved remarkable results in bringing teamwork into industry, and I believe they should have every encouragement to continue their vital national service.

(From a statement introducing the Moral Re-Armament report, *The Fight to Serve*, to the American press, 1943)

6. REAR ADMIRAL RICHARD E. BYRD

United States Navy

Moral Re-Armament is the answer to the atomic age.

I want to say with all the emphasis at my command that this movement gives you the chance you have been looking for to go into action to save civilisation.

(From speeches in 1946 and 1947)

7. GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY

United States Army, Military Governor, U.S. Zone of Germany

Much has been accomplished to restore understanding and goodwill under the influence of Caux.

(In a message to Caux, 1949)

8. MR. KARL ARNOLD

Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia and President of the Bundesrat, Bonn

In the last years Moral Re-Armament has shown itself to be capable of creating new forces in Germany and in Europe. It is the spiritual road to the new Europe.

(In a message to Caux, 1949)

9. GENERAL HENRI GUIBAN

Wartime Commander-in-Chief, Swiss Army

Today, as in the past, Switzerland is ready to fight for her independence and her democratic heritage. However, democracy cannot be defended by force of arms alone. Military preparedness must be reinforced by ideological preparedness. Only then can our people be proof against the forces of totalitarian materialism which operate from within and from without. Through Moral Re-Armament a new opportunity opens before our people to bring to Europe the secret of a living democracy.

(In a message to Caux, 1949)

10. LIEUTENANT GENERAL E. GØRTZ

Commander-in-Chief of the Danish Army

MAJOR GENERAL E. C. V. MØLLER

Chief of Staff, Danish Army

We are convinced that only the spirit of Caux can bring unity to the world and set Scandinavia on the offensive to bring this answer to Europe.

(In a message to Caux, 1949)

11. GENERAL IVAR HOLMQUIST

Wartime Commander-in-Chief, Swedish Army

We in the democratic nations must give our soldiers an ideology—the ideology of Moral Re-Armament.

(In a speech at Caux, 1949)

12. REAR ADMIRAL YNGVE EKSTRAND

Commanding the Swedish Baltic Coast

With Moral Re-Armament as a basis, it will be possible to unite the Scandinavian peoples, making Scandinavia a united whole capable of fighting for a better world.

(In a speech at Caux, 1948)

13. MAJOR GENERAL H. DE VERNEJOUL

Wartime Commander of the Fifth French Armoured Division

This is a new battle we are fighting. A policy of defence is always bad tactics. We must attack—attack without truce—until we win victory with the dynamic force of Moral Re-Armament.

(In a speech at Caux, 1949)

14. LIEUTENANT GENERAL J. TOUZET DU VIGIER

Formerly Chief of Staff to General de Lattre de Tassigny and Wartime Commander of the First French Armoured Division

Our security lies in the ideological vigour of the West, even more than in shells, tanks and planes. For every nation there are three sorts of frontiers to defend: the political frontier, which is determined by history; the strategic frontier, marked out by geography; and now, more than ever, the ideological frontier which goes through the heart of every man. So we are all responsible for the defence of the ideological frontiers of the West.

(In a speech at Caux, 1950)

15. MR. C. KURIYAMA AND MR. T. KITAMURA

Members of the Japanese Parliament

Russia has advanced in Asia because the Soviet Government understands the art of ideological war. It fights for the minds of men. We appeal to the governments and peoples of the West to do the same—to make themselves expert in the philosophy and practice of Moral Re-Armament, which is the ideology of the future. Then all Asia will listen.

(In a statement issued on behalf of 74 Japanese representatives at Caux, published in *The Observer*, London, July 23rd, 1950)

16. HON. PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR.

Chairman, Bi-partisan Congressional Committee officially designated to attend the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, 1949

Why did the House send a committee to observe this recent conference? (The World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, 1949) . . . I think the answer lies in the fact that this movement has launched a very vigorous campaign to answer Communism in Europe. The dominant theme of the conference was the necessity for spreading a democratic ideology supported on moral conceptions and to make the ideology work in everyday life, as an answer to the question being asked by many in war-torn countries—the question of whether to turn to promises of the East or the democracy of the West.

(U.S. Congressional Record, June 21st, 1949)

17. MR. THEMISTOCLES SOPHOULIS

Prime Minister of Greece

In the vanguard of the world struggle for human liberty, Greece fights on till peace with freedom is assured. Moral Re-Armament is the ideology of freedom which every nation needs to give it unity and strength. Your inspired work to transform and unite the world has my heartfelt support.

(In a message to Caux, 1949)

18. MR. PANAYOTIS KANELLOPOULOS

Former Prime Minister of Greece; Leader, National Union Party

Communism has been described as “Darkness at Noon.” If this be so then Moral Re-Armament is “Sunshine at Midnight.”

(In a speech at the Tenth Anniversary Assembly for Moral Re-Armament, 1948, at Los Angeles)

19. MAJOR GENERAL FRANCIS B. WILBY

Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy, West Point

This is the Arm behind the Army.

(From a speech in 1941)

20. BY TWENTY-TWO MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

We are grateful for what the world force of Moral Re-Armament has achieved in the past years, and particularly for the way it is providing men and women in the mines, shipyards, steelworks and factories of Britain with a new dynamic.

(In a message to Caux, 1949)

21. COLONEL ROBERT L. SNIDER

U.S. Air Force

During the four and a half years of war, soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations have thronged Moral Re-Armament's training centres in America, England, Canada and Australia. A soldier visiting London Moral Re-Armament headquarters the other day said, "Moral Re-Armament added a plus to my training. I knew what I was fighting against. Now I know what I am fighting for."

Men who carry the spirit of Moral Re-Armament inspired that fighting faith which General Marshall, after his recent trip around the world, characterised as our greatest need.

(From an article in the Army Navy Journal, May 6th, 1944)

22. MR. GULZARILAL NANDA

Deputy Chairman of the Government of India Planning Committee

Each year Moral Re-Armament is growing in world significance and in power. Moral Re-Armament will not have done its job till the ideology it represents becomes the most significant and the most powerful factor in political, economic and social thought and action in every part of the world.

(In a message to Caux, 1950)

23. HON. JAGJIVAN RAM

Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, India

There is no other way than Moral Re-Armament out of the confusion and conflict between nations and individuals today.

(From a speech at Caux, 1950)

24. DR. KONRAD ADENAUER

Chancellor of Germany

Moral Re-Armament has become universally known in post-war Germany. I think specially of the great success achieved by the task force in the Ruhr.

(From a letter to Dr. Buchman in May, 1950)

25. MAJOR GENERAL S. W. KIRBY

Former Deputy Chief of Staff, Control Commission, Germany

From all reports it would appear that in the spread of this ideology and in its taking root within the Western nations, the great hope for the future lies.

(From an article in the *Cape Times*, March, 1950)

26. MR. EVERT KUPERS

President of the Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions for 20 years and Chairman of the Trade Union Advisory Committee for the European Recovery Programme

The work of Dr. Frank Buchman is bringing the basic unity and co-operation which will make the Schuman and Marshall Plans effective. Without this basic unity within and between the nations, it is possible that Western civilisation in Europe will perish.

(From a speech at Caux, July, 1950)

27. DR. FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN

The aim of Moral Re-Armament is a nation fortified against attack from within and without. It is a national necessity. Moral Re-Armament creates the qualities that make democracy function. It gives to every man the inner discipline he needs and the inner liberty he desires. It builds for democracy an unshakable framework of actively selfless and self-giving citizens.

Those working with Moral Re-Armament have volunteered for this far-reaching patriotic service. They possess a special training which they are giving to our nation gladly, freely, and not without sacrifice. The morally re-armed have learned to live under a crisis-proof, fear-free discipline. They

are a panic-proof, single-minded, and intelligent trained force at the disposal of all who put their country before selfish interest.

(From a speech at Philadelphia, June 4th, 1941)

A generation ago the force of Moral Re-Armament began fighting too. On a world front it has been answering plan with plan, idea with idea, a militant godless materialism with a militant inspired ideology for democracy.

The idea caught hold. It remade men. It impacted nation after nation. Now it girdles the globe.

Today we see this force in action with the answer, available for service. At a time when statesmen realise the lateness of the hour, it freely offers the fruit of twenty-five years of toil. A force in the war of ideas, with the training and experience which, under God, can equip the statesman and the ordinary man with an ideology adequate to remake the nations—now.

(From a speech at Caux, 1947. Read into the U.S. Congressional Record by Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, July 26th, 1947)

APPENDIX B

Some Senior Officers who have attended the World Assemblies for Moral Re-Armament at Caux, Switzerland

BELGIUM

LIEUTENANT LESAFFRE	GENERAL	A. <i>Former Commander 8th Infantry Division, 1940.</i>
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CANADA

BRIGADIER W. BEEMAN	<i>Former Royal Canadian Artillery.</i>
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CROATIA

MAJOR GENERAL H. ALABANDA *Former Divisional Commander,
Eastern Front.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GENERAL L. PRCHALA *Former Czech Army Commander.*

DENMARK

MAJOR GENERAL E. C. V. MØLLER *Chief of Staff, Danish Army.*

MAJOR GENERAL A. H. M. WULFF-HAVE *Commander, Jutland Division.*

FINLAND

COLONEL P. JOKIPALTIIO *Commanding Anti-Aircraft Regiment.*

COLONEL V. TURUNEN *General Staff.*

FRANCE

LIEUTENANT GENERAL L. M. CHASSIN *Commanding 1st Air Region and Air Force Training Schools.*

VICE ADMIRAL P. ORTOLI *Formerly Director Naval Training, later Naval Commander, Far East.*

LIEUTENANT GENERAL J. TOUTZET DU VIGIER *War-time Commander, 1st Armoured Division; Chief of Staff to General de Lattre de Tassigny until 1947.*

MAJOR GENERAL H. DE VERNEJOUL *War-time Commander, 5th Armoured Division.*

MAJOR GENERAL M. DESCOUR *Commanding French Occupation Troops in Austria.*

GERMANY

GENERAL H. SPEIDEL *Former Chief of Staff to Field Marshal Rommel in France.*

GENERAL F. HOSSBACH *Former Commander 4th Army, Eastern Front.*

GENERAL M. GAREIS *Former Commander Tank Corps, Eastern Front.*

GREECE

REAR ADMIRAL A. GONATAS *Former Naval Chief of Staff.*

HOLLAND

COLONEL J. COUZY *Commandant, Army Staff College.*
COLONEL K. PUFFIUS *Commandant, Royal Military Academy.*

HUNGARY

GENERAL F. VON FARKAS DE *Former Army Commander, Eastern*
KISBARNAK *Front.*

INDIA

COLONEL S. RAY *Director, Technical Development,*
Indian Army.

NORWAY

COLONEL H. ENGER *Inspector-General, Coast Artillery.*
COLONEL K. S. LANGSLET *Inspector-General, Logistics.*
COLONEL L. G. BRYHN *Inspector-General, Infantry.*
COLONEL H. JYHNE *Inspector-General, Artillery.*

PAKISTAN

MAJOR GENERAL HAYAUD DIN *Commanding Lahore Division.*
COMMODORE H. M. S. CHOUDRI *Formerly Chief of Staff, Navy;*
Imperial Defence College, 1950.

POLAND

AIR VICE MARSHAL SIR *Wartime Commander, Polish Air*
MATTHEW IZYCKI DE NOTTO *Force.*

SWEDEN

REAR ADMIRAL Y. EKSTRAND *Commanding Baltic Coast.*
LIEUTENANT GENERAL I. *Wartime Commander in Chief.*
HOLMQUIST

SWITZERLAND

GENERAL H. GUISAN *Wartime Commander-in-Chief.*

UNITED KINGDOM

- REAR ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD COCHRANE, R.N. *Wartime Convoy Commodore.*
- REAR ADMIRAL (E.) O. W. PHILLIPS, R.N. *Formerly Fleet Engineer Officer, Eastern Fleet; later Western Approaches Staff.*
- CAPTAIN G. R. WAYMOUTH, R.N. *Formerly Naval Staff, Admiralty; Imperial Defence College, 1950.*
- MAJOR GENERAL S. W. KIRBY *Formerly Deputy Chief of Staff, Control Commission, Germany.*
- MAJOR GENERAL G. O. DE R. CHANNER *Formerly Indian Army.*
- GROUP CAPTAIN P. I. HARRIS, R.A.F. *Air Ministry.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

- COLONEL R. L. SNIDER *Air War College.*

APPENDIX C

A Nazi Document

(*Letter to The Times, December 29th, 1945*)

SIR,—Nazi Germany's determination to destroy Christianity has been apparent for many years, but nowhere has it been more categorically stated than in a secret "Gestapo" report which has now been discovered. As this document has received less attention than it deserves, we trust that you will allow us to set some brief extracts before your readers.

The document which, as its title page states, was prepared by the head office of the Reich Security Department, concerns

Dr. Buchman and the Oxford Group. It denounces them for "uncompromisingly taking up a frontal position against National Socialism" in that "they encourage their members to place themselves fully beneath the Christian Cross and to oppose the cross of the swastika with the Cross of Christ, as the former seeks to destroy the Cross of Christ." "Frankly, the importance of the Group lies here," the document continues. "At the very moment when we (the Nazi Party) are making efforts to suppress Christian conviction of sin, which appears to us the first step towards the enslavement of the German, a movement is emanating from the Anglo-Saxons, who are racially related to us, which regards just this consciousness of sin as a basis for change in national relationships."

The document further states that the secret police regarded the movement as "the pacemaker of Anglo-American diplomacy" and as a force working "to bring about new political and ideological conditions in the Reich." "The Group as a whole," it says, "constitutes an attack upon the nationalism of the State and demands the utmost watchfulness on the part of the State. It preaches revolution against the National State, and has quite evidently become its Christian opponent."

Speaking of the influence of the campaign for Moral Re-Armament, the report continues:

"If one considers the names of the chief propagandists for Buchman's call to Moral Re-Armament in England and elsewhere, the political counterpart of the movement becomes plain: the Jewish Western democracies. Nor is there any room for doubting against whom this whole campaign was directed, bearing in mind the year in which it took place, 1938, the year when—as it was said—Germany attacked little Austria with brutal force. . . . The Group breathes the spirit of Western democracy. It supplies the Christian garment for world democratic aims. The Group and the democracies supplement each other and render each other's work fruitful."

The whole report throws an interesting light on the Nazi mind, as well as finally dispelling the widespread misrepresentations which have been circulated about this Christian movement. We hope that a full translation will be made available to

the British public. For it is vital that we should understand the spiritual foundations of democracy as clearly as did our enemies, and that we should sustain with all our strength what they feared and hoped to destroy.

Yours, etc.,

LORD AMMON OF CAMBERWELL
*Deputy Speaker, House of Lords.
later Chairman, National Dock
Labour Board.*

HAROLD E. CLAY
*Assistant General Secretary of the
Transport and General Workers'
Union, Chairman of the London
Labour Party.*

LORD COURTHOPE OF WHILIGH
*Member, Central Board of Finance
of Church of England.*

THE LORD BISHOP OF LICH-
FIELD

SIR LYNDEN MACASSEY
*Independent Chairman, Reuter's
Trust.*

SIR CYRIL NORWOOD
*President, St. John's College,
Oxford.*

SIR DAVID ROSS
*Chairman, Royal Commission on the
Press.*

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The collected speeches of Dr. F. N. D. Buchman and some supplementary material including a history of the development of Moral Re-Armament. This is essential reading for anyone who wishes to study and evaluate Moral Re-Armament. (*Blandford Press*, 5s.)

Additional speeches by Dr. F. N. D. Buchman since the publication of *Remaking the World*:

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